583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[203] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 583 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 374 Finally, to bring all these duties to an [P. 218-A]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[753] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

"giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. Informal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism.

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and therefore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go

608
601

	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NIKYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

608
851
1794
602

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

585
608
601
602

The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

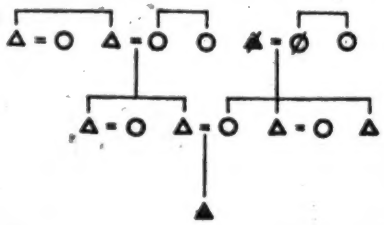
Informant's family status	*Occasion*	*Residence of compadre*					*Relationship*		
		Same section	*Opposite section*	*Other barrio*	*Neighboring town*	*Total*	*Relative*	*Non-relative*	*Total*
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

[p. 119]

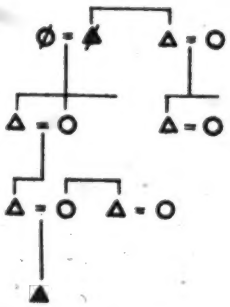
7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970
NV9 Textual NV9
Amatenango del Valle
602
N98
852
L95
585

608
571
852
601

3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres.



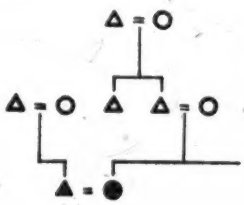
4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



608
571
585

He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married.

1. A man of the same section.

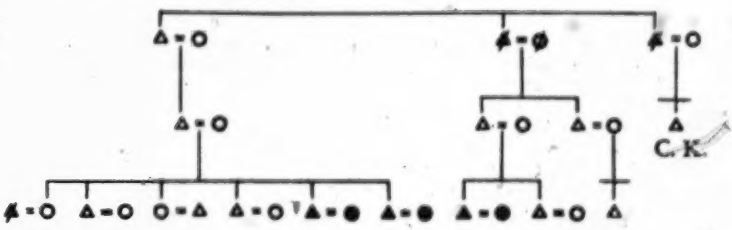


[601]

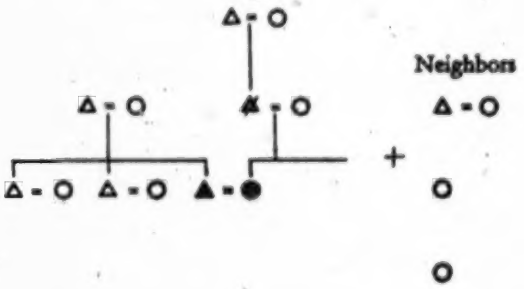
7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608
571
• 585
601

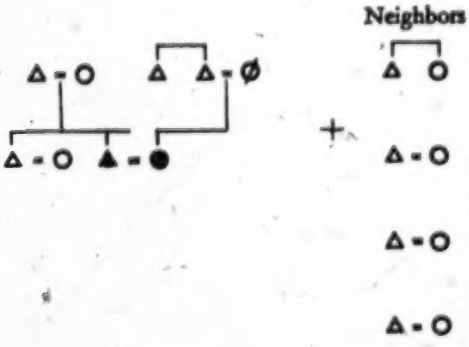
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanchetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 179 The Indians of Tzo'ontahal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

584 585

---

she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

[852] [571] [608]

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

[171]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place.

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread.

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company.

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *l?awayi*), is

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo?ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role performed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called.

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

855 862 883 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 868 562 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 562 [291] After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

---

[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

---

[1] The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

585 In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is 621 common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
183 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
593 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her
606 mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
885 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[851] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

---

[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his
[672] father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and
578 authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened
578 his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not
754 given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his
428 wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than
578 inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's eco-
585 nomic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.